

Moscow Takes a Step to Rehabilitate Khrushchev

By Dusko Doder
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — The new Soviet leadership has taken a significant step toward an eventual rehabilitation of Nikita S. Khrushchev by publicly acknowledging his prominent role in the Battle of Stalingrad, one of the turning points of World War II.

For the first time since Khrushchev was ousted from power in 1964, his name was mentioned approvingly — and on three occasions — by a leading official publication. The article was published in *Kommunist*, the most authoritative ideological publication of the Soviet party's Central Committee.

Kommunist described Khrushchev and Marshal Semyon K. Timoshenko as the main leaders of the Soviet forces at Stalingrad. Khrushchev held the rank of lieutenant general at the time, but as a member of Joseph Stalin's Politburo he was the senior figure at Stalingrad.

There has been speculation in Soviet circles that Yuri V. Andropov, the new Soviet leader, would eventually seek to provide a balanced assessment of Khrushchev's accomplishments and failures.

Mr. Andropov was Khrushchev's ambassador to Hungary at the time of the 1956 uprising there. Khrushchev subsequently promoted him within the Central Committee apparatus, making him a secretary in 1962.

But a series of articles about the 40th anniversary on Feb. 2 of the Soviet victory at Stalingrad made no mention of Khrushchev. Two articles dealing with the Stalingrad battle in the January issue of the journal "History of the U.S.S.R." made only one mention of Stalin and included several quotes from the late Soviet president, Leonid I. Brezhnev, who was not present at the battle. The articles were approved by Soviet censors in October, while Mr. Brezhnev was still alive.

An article about the battle in the journal "Questions in History of the Soviet Communist Party," which also appeared in January, did not mention either Stalin or Khrushchev. It included quotes from Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Andropov. Censors approved the article early in December, a few weeks after Mr. Andropov succeeded Mr. Brezhnev.

Another article approved in December and appearing in January, in the journal "Questions of History," made no mention of either Stalin or Khrushchev in its account of the battle.

Kommunist's January issue was approved by the censors on January 10. Its article, "Victory on the Volga," mentioned Khrushchev, Stalin and others. It was written by one of its participants, Lieutenant General L. Lelyushenko.

It seems inconceivable that Kommunist would mention Khrushchev approvingly without authorization from the top Kremlin officials, possibly Mr. Andropov himself. The last known mention of Khrushchev in an authoritative Soviet publication was the

announcement of his death in Pravda on Sept. 11, 1971, two days after he died. The report referred to him as N.S. Khrushchev, "a private pensioner."

The authoritative *Diplomatic Dictionary*, a three-volume encyclopedia of Soviet foreign policy published by the Foreign Ministry, does not mention Khrushchev by name. It does, for example, say that President John F. Kennedy met with the Soviet prime minister in Vienna in 1961 and provides an account of their conversations. But it does not give the prime minister's name.

The Kommunist article also mentioned for the first time the name of Georgi M. Malenkov, who became Soviet prime minister following Stalin's death in 1953. At that time, Khrushchev became party leader. Khrushchev ousted Mr. Malenkov in 1955. Mr. Malenkov was sent to run a power plant and later disappeared from public life. He is now retired and living in Moscow.

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Nikita S. Khrushchev

WORLD BRIEFS

Callers Say Stolen Horse Is Dead

DUBLIN (AP) — Callers using an assigned code word asserted Friday that Shergar, a stolen racehorse, had been injured and put to death. However, police said the calls probably were bogus and that the champion stud was still alive.

Telephone calls to the British Broadcasting Corp. and to a horse trainer, Jeremy Maxwell, and his wife, Ruth, said the horse, owned by a syndicate including the Aga Khan, was "put down" after injuring himself.

Two gunmen abducted the racehorse, which was syndicated for \$10 million in 1981, from an Irish stud farm Tuesday. They demanded a ransom of 2 million Irish pounds (\$2.7 million).

Yugoslav Daily Rejects Criticism

BELGRADE (AP) — An influential Belgrade daily, one of five newspapers sharply denounced by a senior Communist Party official, rejected official criticism of the press Friday and warned the government against a crackdown on news media.

Slavoljub Djukic, a leading journalist in the current drive of the Yugoslav press for greater freedom, said the "press does not exist for the sake of journalists" and demanded that "certain pressures that the press has cut down to the right size should be made impossible."

Earlier this week, Dobrovoje Vodic, a senior party official, charged that "hostile and alien conceptions" had crept into the media "as part of a carefully schemed activities of people striving to topple Yugoslavia's constitutional system." Mr. Djukic's warning appeared in his editorial column in the nationally circulated daily, Politika, whose editors had been singled out for criticism.

House Subpoenas 37 U.S. Aides

WASHINGTON (AP) — A subcommittee of the House Energy and Commerce Committee has issued subpoenas for 37 Environmental Protection Agency officials, including Anne M. Gorsuch, the agency's administrator.

Under the subpoenas, issued Thursday by the subcommittee on investigations and oversight, the officials have until mid-March to make plans to describe in closed session the details of a cleanup of at least five hazardous waste sites. The subcommittee's Democratic chairman, John Dingell of Michigan, said members wanted to counter Mr. Gorsuch's refusal to allow agency employees to be interviewed by committee staff members unless they had a lawyer and a Republican congressman or party staff member present.

Russians Await U.S. Missile Plan

MOSCOW (AP) — The Soviet Union "has gone as far as it could go" to compromise at the Geneva talks on reducing nuclear arms and now awaits new proposals from the United States, an official Soviet commentator said Friday.

Commenting on the European tour just completed by U.S. Vice President George Bush, the Novosti press agency said Mr. Bush had failed to convince Europeans to support the so-called zero-option proposal advanced by the United States. The plans call for a missile reduction to zero by both the United States and the Soviet Union.

Vladimir Alexeev, the Novosti commentator, reiterated a December proposal by the Soviet leader, Yuri V. Andropov, to cut medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe to the level of the 162 missiles controlled by Britain and France. Mr. Alexeev said the plan was one of "numerous serious compromise proposals" advanced by Moscow.

Walesa Is Questioned for 2d Day

WARSAW (AP) — Military prosecutors questioned Lech Walesa for a second day Friday in the case of five former advisers of the Solidarity trade union arrested on sedition charges. An aide at his Gdansk apartment said the former Solidarity leader was questioned for three hours and was ordered to appear before the military prosecutor again Saturday.

Mr. Walesa said earlier Friday that he was barred from discussing the investigation of Jacek Kuron and the others in the dissident group known as KOR. The five, who had advised the now-banned Solidarity union, were arrested under martial law but have not been indicted.

Zimbabwe Refuses to Trade Spies

HARARE, Zimbabwe (Reuters) — The Zimbabwe government has said that it has turned down three offers by South Africa to exchange foreign prisoners for two alleged white South African spies held in Harare.

Emmerson Mnangagwa, the minister of state for security, told Parliament Thursday that Pretoria had offered to free a Soviet spy and two Angolans in return for Philip Hartlebure, Colin Evans and his family. Mr. Hartlebure, a dual British-Zimbabwean national, and Mr. Evans, a Zimbabwean, were cleared by the high court of violating Zimbabwe's Official Secrets and Law and Order Laws last month. However, the two men were detained under emergency regulations soon after their acquittal.

For the Record

BRUSSELS (AP) — Workers from a dozen European countries marched Friday through central Brussels to demand more action by European governments against unemployment. The demonstration was organized by the European Trade Union Confederation. Police put the number of marchers at 5,000.

Labor Loses Challenge To U.K. Redistricting

LONDON — Britain's opposition Labor Party on Friday lost the last round of a legal battle over electoral district boundaries, opening the way for Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to call an early election.

The Labor leader, Michael Foot, and three colleagues had appealed to the House of Lords, Britain's highest appellate body, to block state Boundary Commission proposals for the reshaping of electoral districts in England, and the creation of seven new districts.

Mr. Foot said afterwards that "it is disappointing that the courts are unable to assist in a matter which the Law Lords recognized as being of great constitutional importance."

U.S. Bill Reduces Tax Exclusion of Citizens Abroad

WASHINGTON (AP) — A bill that would cut the Section 911 earned income exclusion for Americans abroad from \$80,000 to \$40,000 has been introduced by Representative William F. Goodling.

An aide to the Pennsylvania Republican said Mr. Goodling did not think that reducing the exclusion, or the amount of earned income exempt from taxation, would make American companies competitive with their foreign counterparts or force them to pay foreign workers, who are not generally taxed by their home countries when they work abroad.

The side characterized the exclusion as a "loophole" that was out of proportion to what it should be and "unfair to other taxpayers."

She added that even if other nations did not tax their citizens abroad, the U.S. tax system could not be based on what other countries do.

Lobbyists involved with issues affecting Americans abroad are said to be opposing the bill. The Goodling proposal is the first of what they expect to be several attacks on the income exclusion and other tax benefits for Americans overseas, as Congress looks for ways to raise revenue and cut an expected \$200-billion deficit.

The Treasury is to issue a report on the workings of Section 911 early this spring and sources have said that it wants to "do something" about it.



Students carried a banner Friday against the Naples crime organization, the Camorra.

50,000 March Through Naples In a Protest of Organized Crime

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NAPLES — Students, workers, shopkeepers and clergymen from all over southern Italy marched through Naples Friday to protest organized crime. Police who put the number of marchers at 50,000, said it was the biggest demonstration against organized crime.

The demonstrators arrived from Sicily, Calabria and other regions in 500 buses, four special trains and a number of boats and planes. Most of the transportation was provided by the Communist-led General Confederation of Labor, which strongly backed the protest.

Hundreds of schoolchildren carried hand-painted placards as they walked with steelworkers. One girl held a card reading: "We want a better world."

The federation of Italy's three

main labor unions also held a general strike in the Naples region and thousands of striking workers joined in the march.

The protest was part of a mounting campaign against the three main organized crime organizations in southern Italy — the Mafia in Sicily, the Camorra in the Naples region and the Ndrangheta in Calabria.

Since 1977, these organizations have become involved in multimillion-dollar drug trafficking in addition to protection and contraband rackets.

Nearly 1,000 people, mostly gangsters, have been killed in wars between rival clans of the three organizations in southern Italy during the last three years.

Several lesser demonstrations have been staged in other southern

cities in recent weeks to bolster the government crackdown on organized crime. Many of them have been led by the Communist Party, which claims that the Mafia supports the Christian Democratic Party.

In a speech at the rally that wound up the demonstration, Monsignor Antonio Riboldi, bishop of nearby Acerra, said: "We represent civilization, not the Camorra. Today we are 100,000 and we hope that within a year we will be a million to tell the whole country we are the conscience of Naples which is battling the Camorra."

The bishop said, "People have reached a turning point — we must go forward or slump back into resignation. This march is a message of hope."

Sharon Quits Israel Defense Post

(Continued from Page 1)

of these reports, the correct conclusions were not drawn from them, and no energetic and immediate actions were taken to restrain the Phalangists and put a stop to their actions. This both reflects and exhausts Israel's indirect responsibility for what occurred in the refugee camps."

According to both Uri Dan, Mr. Sharon's close adviser, and Uri Porat, Mr. Begin's press secretary, Mr. Sharon went to the prime minister's office Thursday night, after the 16-1 vote against him.

There, the prime minister spoke warmly to him and explained that there had been no alternative to accepting the recommendations of a state commission chaired by Israel's chief justice. But it was a painful step personally, Mr. Begin said, and he had not slept for a couple of nights. Then, according to both aides, Mr. Begin added:

Iran Drops Demand For Iraqi Withdrawal

The Associated Press

NICOSIA — Iran has dropped its demand for the withdrawal of Iraqi troops as a condition to end the war, because most of Iranian territory has already been liberated, the official Islamic Republic News Agency said Friday.

The agency quoted President Ali Khamenei as saying at a banquet for foreign diplomats in Tehran Thursday night that "the Islamic republic no longer considered the unconditional withdrawal of the aggressor forces from its territory as a principle condition for ending the Iraqi-imposed war."

"Our most basic condition is that the agents who caused so much destruction, meaning the leaders of the Iraqi regime, must be punished," Mr. Khamenei was quoted as saying.

His statement came as Iraq insisted that its forces repulse another Iranian assault Wednesday night and Thursday. The attack was reportedly the fifth since a major offensive was launched Sunday to cross the border into Iraq.

A communiqué broadcast by Iraqi radio reported Friday that no new ground battles had begun along the 18 miles (30 kilometers) of front established since Sunday. But it said Iraqi war planes continued their "effective and successful" bombing raids on Iranian troops and vehicle concentrations in the area.

Iranian reports on the fighting were not available. But the Iraqi communiqué said the city of Basra and the border town of Zubair had sustained some damage from Iranian shelling.

Mr. Dan, who has been close to Mr. Sharon for many years, said in an interview: "When they didn't want him as chief of staff, I said those who do not accept him as chief of staff will have to accept him as defense minister. Now I say those who do not accept him as defense minister will have to accept him as prime minister."

Until a decision on a successor is made, Mr. Begin will hold the defense minister's post, as he did for more than a year after Ezer Weizman resigned in 1980. Most speculation on a successor has centered on the ambassador to Washington, Moshe Arens, a hawkish and articulate aeronautical engineer who opposed the peace treaty with Egypt.

Mr. Porat said discussions on a successor would not begin in earnest until the next cabinet meeting, scheduled for Sunday.

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هكمان الأجل

Congress Warned of Risks in Deficits

Its Budget Office Urges 'Broad Strategies' on Spending Cuts, Taxation

By Edward Cowan

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The American economy faces unprecedented risks, from huge budget deficits, the Congressional Budget Office has told Congress that it should act this year in reaching ways to curtail the rise of U.S. government spending and to raise additional tax revenues.

The office and its founding director, Alice M. Rivlin, offered their advice Thursday in the 1983 edition of "Reducing the Deficit: Spending and Revenue Options." The volume is expected to be a basic working document for Congress, where there is virtually unanimous agreement that the deficit must be cut, but much disagreement about how to do it.

"Mrs. Rivlin, who has resigned after two four-year terms, laced her introduction with the kind of unvarnished advice she has usually refrained from giving.

"The prospect of continuing large federal deficits" through

1983, the report said, "is cause for alarm." Heavy government borrowing to finance deficits could "crowd out" private investment by driving up interest rates, it continued, thereby limiting future standards of living and American competitiveness in the world economy.

Mrs. Rivlin said later that to make the large cuts in the deficit that she was recommending — \$400 billion to \$1 trillion cumulatively for the years 1984-88 — Congress would need to reduce military and other spending and legislative tax increases this year. She refused to be more specific, saying Congress had to choose after weighing the many alternatives listed.

The report cautioned Congress that "marginal tinkering with the budget cannot yield adequate savings." Instead, it said, "broad strategies" are needed, such as "raising revenues to pay for defense growth," reductions in spending or a combination of each.

The budget office advised Congress to strive for a deficit of no

more than two percent of the gross national product — the sum of all economic activity — in what is expected to be the strong phase of the business cycle, after 1984.

In this, as in the view that deficit financing is less troublesome when the economy has a lot of slack — as now — Mrs. Rivlin's report accepted a view held by the administration and many economists.

"The failure to take action now to bring down the 1983-86-87 deficit could threaten sustained recovery," she said. The report showed that if Congress makes no changes in present programs and taxes, the deficit would hold at 5.6 percent of the gross national product from 1984 through 1988.

The report argued that cuts must be made in military spending and entitlement programs — under which money is paid out automatically to individuals meeting fixed criteria — because the two categories account for three-fourths of the projected \$345 billion in additional spending in 1984-88.

New suggestions identified by

Mrs. Rivlin included elimination of three weapons systems — the MX missile, at a five-year saving of \$23.2 billion; an army air-defense gun, \$2.4 billion; and improvement of the army's scout helicopter, \$1 billion.

The report extensively discussed holding down spending for health care, particularly the Medicare benefits universally available to the 26 million people 65 or older, and 3 million disabled persons.

It grouped Medicare money-saving proposals into three categories — requiring patients to pay more; action by Congress to go beyond recent regulations for "prospective reimbursement" of hospitals by Medicare based on the nature of the illness instead of services rendered; and limits on fee increases by physicians or adoption of specific fee schedules.

On taxes, the report listed as revenue-raising options the two tax changes that have been most discussed in Congress. They are altering the 10-percent individual income tax cut scheduled for July 1,



Alice M. Rivlin

1983, and repeal or delay of "indexing," the automatic adjustment of tax brackets for wage inflation to prevent taxpayers from being pushed into higher brackets, scheduled to start in 1985.

Several new ways listed to broaden the tax base, or make more income taxable, were limiting entertainment deductions to half of expenses, limiting nonbusiness interest deductions to \$10,000, elimination of income averaging and improving taxpayer compliance.

Pressure Builds in U.S. Congress For Peace Talks in El Salvador

By Margot Hornblower

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Frustration is rising in Congress over the political and military deadlock in El Salvador, increasing the pressure on the Reagan administration to insist on talks between the guerrillas and the Salvadoran government.

Key members of the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs committees say Congress may attach new conditions to the administration's 1984 military aid request for El Salvador, perhaps requiring the Salvadoran government to initiate talks with the leftist opposition in order to receive U.S. assistance.

"We need to find some framework for talks with the guerrillas," said Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum, a Kansas Republican who is a moderate on the Foreign Relations Committee. "The administration should make this the focus of their policy. We've always said a political solution is the only viable solution, but we're being pushed into a military solution."

She said she would not support the administration's request for an increase in Salvadoran military aid from \$26.3 million this fiscal year to \$86.3 in fiscal 1984.

"We'll see a real fight," she said. "I don't think Congress will go along with it unless the Salvadoran government shows reforms in their judicial system, better control of their security forces, a willingness to move toward talks and a reduction of regional tensions."

The tone of congressional Democrats, who strengthened their numbers in the House in the November election, is even more impatient.

"There's a mood of impatient inaction in Congress," said Representative Stephen J. Solarz of New York. "There's a growing concern our policy is leading nowhere."

A six-page "Democratic alternative" was issued Dec. 9 by a group including Representative Michael D. Barnes of Maryland, chairman of the House subcommittee on Western Hemisphere affairs, and

Senator Alan Cranston of California, a ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

It said: "The Reagan administration has chosen a policy which lends confidence to the terrorist right; which motivates and strengthens the terrorist left; which contributes in doing so to further violence; and which has provided nothing but bitter discouragement for those genuinely committed to peace and democracy in the region."

The document calls for a halt in what it calls the administration's support for a covert war against Nicaragua, which, it said, has produced "a propaganda bonanza for the radical left, an excuse for a military buildup by Managua and a growing threat of regional war."

Urging the administration to join with Mexico and Venezuela to initiate discussions among Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador, the group said the administration should support negotiations with Salvadoran guerrillas "without preconditions."

"There's a real frustration that we're floundering," Representative Barnes said. "The euphoria of the (Salvadoran) elections has worn off. There's the sense in Congress that the war is not going anywhere from a military perspective, and the political situation is chaos."

Eighty House members are co-sponsoring a bill by Representative Gerry Studds, a Massachusetts Democrat, to declare null and void President Ronald Reagan's certification that El Salvador has been making progress in human rights, economic reforms and political democracy.

The certification is required twice a year for the country to be eligible for U.S. military aid.

While the Studds bill, which would suspend military aid, has the strong support of church groups and, recently, of the AFL-CIO, it appears unlikely to pass. Members fear an abrupt aid cutoff would play into the hands of extremists on the right and the left, while leaving the U.S.-supported moderates with no power base.

White House, Democrats Seem to Be Closer on Jobs Bill

By Steven V. Roberts

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — White House aides have given Democratic leaders proposed emergency job legislation that Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of the House said "goes a long way" toward meeting the national need.

On the basis of the discussions held Thursday, it appeared that the White House and congressional Democrats were moving toward cooperation on job legislation, which had threatened to be a volatile political issue in the new Congress. "It's an excellent beginning," said Representative Jim Wright, the majority leader, Thursday.

On Thursday evening, Mr. Wright, a Texas Democrat, predicted that the jobs package might come to the House floor within two

weeks and said the Democrats wanted to move it very quickly. "It goes a long way," said Mr. O'Neill, a Massachusetts Democrat, of the move toward compromise.

Mr. O'Neill added that the White House proposal "moved significantly in the same direction as the legislation passed by the House in December." The House had adopted a \$5.4-billion public works program during debate over a temporary spending resolution in December, but dropped the proposal in the face of a threatened presidential veto.

At the time, President Ronald Reagan denounced the Democratic initiative as wasteful, but since then, his standings in the public opinion polls have continued to decline. The latest New York Times CBS News poll reported that 41

percent approved of the job that he was doing as president and only 35 percent approved of his handling of the economy.

Congressional sources said the White House was proposing a package totaling about \$4 billion, while Democrats have suggested spending \$5 billion to \$7 billion.

Under the White House proposal, public works projects already scheduled in future years would be moved up for immediate action. This would enable President Reagan, who has long opposed jobs programs as "make work," to say that he is not making any changes in his long-range program.

In addition, the package could contain aid in the form of food and shelter for the jobless. At a news conference last week, Mr. Reagan maintained that existing programs

covered this need and that new funds were not needed.

However, the clamor for some sort of emergency program has been growing steadily on Capitol Hill, and Republican leaders have warned the White House that their members would not take the political risk of voting against such aid during the winter while pictures of soup kitchens dominated the television news.

No final decisions were made Thursday because the Democratic leaders have to study the White House package and consult with their members before giving an answer. "We haven't agreed to anything," said Representative Thomas S. Foley of Washington, the Democratic whip and coordinator of the effort to draft a Democratic jobs bill.

In addition, the Democrats

stressed that any package coming out of Thursday's discussions would only start to deal with unemployment during the current Congress. Other legislation already is being planned to provide more money for job training and relocation and for aid to troubled industries.

Mr. Foley is to report back to the White House next week on the Democratic reaction to the White House proposal.

The meeting Thursday had its origins at a White House briefing last week, when President Reagan pulled Mr. O'Neill aside and insisted that the two camps were "not far apart" on jobs legislation. Congressional Democrats have voiced skepticism about that statement all week but seemed pleasantly surprised Thursday.

U.S. Democrats, Looking to '84, Start Shaping Legislative Agenda

By Hedrick Smith

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Still smarting from the perception that they have failed to produce a coherent alternative to the Reagan economic program in the past two years, Democratic congressional leaders have begun to frame a legislative agenda to give their party a more distinct image and a rough plan for the 1984 elections.

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. sounded the keynote this week. Bypassing President Ronald Reagan's emphasis on a spending freeze in many domestic programs, Mr. O'Neill thundered to a business audience, "Stimulating the economy, not cutting budgets, is the first order of business for the 98th Congress."

"We're looking at three things — fairness and jobs and growth," added Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, a Democrat and the Senate minority leader. "We think there must be a bipartisan effort to get this country moving again."

The leadership has not yet won approval for a precise agenda from the Democratic caucuses in the Senate and House, but rough outlines have begun to emerge on these key issues:

- Jobs and emergency relief: A quick package of \$5 billion to \$7 billion for food, shelter and, perhaps, health assistance for the homeless, combined with a jobs initiative using both accelerated federal public works and public service.
- Public investment: Inserting into the budget resolution this spring a multiyear commitment to promote basic research and development, to upgrade education in

mathematics and the sciences, to train displaced workers and to improve or rebuild ports, highways and other public facilities to create jobs and revitalize American industry.

- Industrial policy: Establishing a council that would bring together government, industry and labor to coordinate the recovery of recession-ravaged "smokestack" industries, such as steel and automobiles, and development of high-technology growth industries to better meet international competition, especially from Japan.
- Defense: Holding the real growth of military spending in 1984 to roughly 5 percent, instead of the 9 percent increase Mr. Reagan is seeking.
- Taxes: A drive to repeal the automatic adjustment of income tax brackets to stop inflation from pushing people into higher brackets, now scheduled to start in 1985; and perhaps an additional effort to put a \$700 ceiling on the benefit for each individual from the 10-percent tax cut scheduled for July.
- Nuclear freeze: A push for a vote in the House in March on a resolution calling for a mutual, verifiable freeze in the production, testing and deployment of Soviet and American nuclear weapons at current levels, similar to one that failed to pass last year by two votes.
- Social programs: Opposition to the president's proposal for further cuts in social welfare programs such as food stamps and the Medicaid program of medical assistance to the poor, as well as resistance to much of Mr. Reagan's suggested cutback in the Medicare program, which provides health insurance for the elderly.

Interest rates: Possible reintroduction by Mr. Byrd and the House majority leader, Representative Jim Wright, Democrat of Texas, of legislation to prod the Federal Reserve Board to work for lower interest rates during the recovery.

As they list their legislative wishes, the Democrats almost ignore the budget deficits looming before them. But, as a practical matter, these deficits — an estimated \$190 billion in 1983 and \$200 billion in 1984 — put a distinct limit on any expensive public investment policy and require Democrats to produce their own budget cuts if they reject the president's.

"We got criticized for not having alternatives over the past two years," said Representative Thomas S. Foley of Washington, the House Democratic whip. "We thought we had more alternatives than people gave us credit for. But they were not as intellectually organized and coherently put as they might have been. Now, there is an effort to present these ideas in a more coherent and coordinated philosophical package."

What is really bothering Democratic leaders is that they fear they lack the votes to attack Mr. Reagan head-on by trying to repeal this year's scheduled tax cut entirely. Repeal would shave \$72 billion from the 1983 deficit and \$32.4 billion from the 1984 deficit.

"If you're really going to cut deficits, that's the best place to start," said a leading Democratic Party official. "They're not sure they have the votes to repeal it and they probably couldn't override a veto."

"We don't just want to do symbolic things," the official said. "Instead of being just 'counterpolicy,' we want to shape policy."



FROZEN SPILL — Only the snow is genuine in this picture of a polyester sculpture by Peter Mitterer on the campus of Bremen University in West Germany.

Barbie Expulsion Raises Debate In Bolivia on Legality and Motives

By Juan Javier Zeballos

Reuters

LA PAZ — The departure from Bolivia of Klaus Barbie, the convicted Nazi war criminal, was generally welcomed here but has prompted some potentially awkward questions for the civilian government about its motives and its method — summary expulsion.

Barbie, who had lived in Bolivia for more than 30 years after fleeing Europe at the end of World War II, was put on a Bolivian military plane Feb. 4 and expelled to

France after spending 11 days in jail over an unpaid debt.

Interior Minister Mario Roncal said Barbie was expelled because he had violated immigration regulations; his citizenship was granted in 1957 under the assumed name of Klaus Altmann.

But some newspapers and politicians have questioned the legality of the expulsion, particularly because a formal request for his extradition to West Germany had been pending before Bolivia's supreme court.

The influential Roman Catholic daily *La Prensa* said in an editorial: "The logical thing would have been to wait for the failure of the extradition request in the supreme court."

It added: "Everything took place as if it were an extradition granted outside the law. It is essential that the government prepare more solid arguments to defend its actions."

Mr. Roncal and Foreign Minister Mario Velarde are to appear before the parliament to explain the legal basis of the decision and how the authorities established the circumstances of Barbie's citizenship.

Newspapers have suggested that Bolivia's young civilian government, which took office in October after 18 years of almost uninterrupted military rule, had been motivated more by a desire to please France than by concern for strict legality.

Barbie is to stand trial in France, where he was twice sentenced to death in absentia for causing the deaths of thousands of Jews and members of the resistance as a Gestapo officer in German-occupied Lyons.

An evening paper in La Paz suggested that Bolivia might have received something in return for Barbie. "The government sold Klaus Altmann, a Bolivian citizen, for a reward as yet unknown to the people," it said.

Presencia also took up this theme, noting suggestions that the government had wanted to please France in order to gain economic help from both Paris and the European Community.

The newspaper *Hoy*, which, like the government, follows a center-left political line, acknowledged that questions existed about the government's conduct, but con-

cluded: "We feel that it is not worth worrying with such passion about a man who went beyond the limits of human decency."

After the arrest of Barbie in connection with a \$10,000 debt to the state mining company, Vice President Jaime Paz Zamora, head of The Revolutionary Movement of the Left, said he thought Barbie should stand trial in Bolivia for alleged links with paramilitary organizations and drug traffickers, and should not be deported.

■ Mitterrand Thanks Bolivia
President François Mitterrand of France has sent a telegram thanking Bolivia for expelling Barbie and praising the integrity and courage of President Hernán Siles Suazo. Reuters reported from La Paz.

China Tightens Birth Limits for Its Minorities

By Christopher S. Wren

New York Times Service

TONGZA, China — China has begun closing a conspicuous loophole in its national birth-control program by restricting the number of children that some of its minorities may have.

On the island of Hainan in the south China Sea, the native Li and Miao minorities have been limited to four children per family since last July. This number has been reduced since October to two or three children per family in an informal measure that is being drafted into legislation in Guangdong province, which governs Hainan.

Wang Yuefeng, director of the Li-Miao Autonomous Prefecture, which covers more than half of Hainan, said: "A similar policy is being applied to the minorities as to the Han majority. The only difference is a greater number of children." The prefecture includes 40,000 Li and 30,000 Miao in its total population of nearly 1.9 million.

Until recently, China's 55 minorities had been exempted from its stringent family planning rules, which restrict Chinese couples to one child or, in some rural areas, to two.

The result is that the minorities have been growing much faster than the Han majority, though they account for less than 7 percent of China's population of more than 1 billion. The national census taken

last July disclosed that the minorities had increased by 68.4 percent since the previous census in 1964, while the Han majority grew by only 43.8 percent.

With nearly a quarter of the world's population and only 7 percent of its arable land, China has instituted radical measures aimed at reducing its population growth to 95 percent annually in the rest of this century.

The government has exempted the minority nationalities to avoid the kind of ethnic friction that developed during the Cultural Revolution, when those in power suppressed the traditions of the minorities in an effort to assimilate them within the Han majority.

The loyalty of the minorities is far more important to Beijing than their size would suggest, because many inhabit strategically sensitive border regions such as Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, Tibet and Yunnan.

Yet the minorities' freedom from birth control has annoyed Han Chinese who want more than one child. Last December, Bo Yibo, a state councillor, declared the birth control exemptions granted to the minorities did not necessarily mean ignoring "practical conditions."

His remark suggested that Beijing was reviewing its position on exempting minorities.

China's population growth last year has been estimated at 1.35 percent. But in Hainan's mountain

town of Tongza, Mr. Wang disclosed that his prefecture's population grew by 1.9 percent. The population of the Li grew by 3.6 percent and the Miao by 4.1 percent.

He said that 13 mobile birth control units will be sent into the countryside to distribute intrauterine devices and birth control pills to ensure a better success rate.

He added, "Our principle here is that if a couple have children up to the limit, we encourage them to undergo sterilization."

There have been unconfirmed reports that the government is encouraging family planning among

other larger minorities, such as the Dai in Yunnan and the Zhuang in Guangxi, but the subject remains sensitive.

Mr. Wang, whose political loyalty as the highest-ranking ethnic Li official has earned him an alternate seat on the Communist Party's Central Committee, rejected suggestions that the impetus for the new policy had come from Beijing or Guangzhou.

"Family planning is not an idea of the Han people to be applied to the minority peoples," he said. "It is an outcome of an idea among the minorities themselves."

Spain Cancels Talks After Morocco Revives Claim to 2 Coastal Cities

United Press International

MADRID — Two Spanish ministers canceled their scheduled departure for Morocco on Thursday in a sign that Morocco's renewed claim to two Spanish cities on the North African coast was straining relations between the two nations.

The announcement of the cancellation came shortly after Moroccan representatives to the Union of Arab Parliamentarians, meeting in Rabat, introduced a resolution calling the Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla occupied territory.

Carlos Romero, minister of agriculture and fishing, and Enrique Barón, minister of transportation, were to leave for Rabat on Thurs-

day to finish negotiations on a fishing treaty.

The statement said the trip was postponed for a week for "technical reasons" but government sources said the move was taken in response to the dispute over the two cities, which have been Spanish since the 16th century.

"Family planning is not an idea of the Han people to be applied to the minority peoples," he said. "It is an outcome of an idea among the minorities themselves."

The Spanish press has speculated that King Hassan II believes Spain's new Socialist government may be more willing than previous administrations to discuss the sovereignty of Ceuta and Melilla. But the Socialist Party press office issued a statement saying Morocco was interfering in an "internal Spanish affair."

Military in Uruguay Seeks to Slow Return To Democratic Past

By Jackson Diehl

Washington Post Service

MONTEVIDEO — Ever since Uruguay voted in resounding opposition to its fading armed forces government last November, military authorities have been quietly shoving Uruguayan politics away from public view.

Outdoor meetings are no longer permitted, and the signs that marked the headquarters of political party movements have been ordered removed. The pro-government newspapers have shuffled politics to the back pages and last week a magazine was shut for interviewing a leading conservative politician.

Uruguay's generals speak much now of maintaining order. In November, the government carried out a major step of its promised democratic opening by permitting the first political party primary elections in 10 years of authoritarian rule.

The result was overwhelming majorities for anti-government slates.

Now, very methodically, the generals are seeking to slow the democratic momentum. "Liberty is what is excessive" in Uruguay, said the interior minister, General Yamandú Trinidad, recently.

The crossed political currents define one of the most delicate of the democratic movements emerging in southern South America. Surrounded by Brazil and Argentina and politically reflective of both, Uruguay appears to be teetering between its own democratic tradition and the region's lingering creed of institutional military rule.

Military leaders have promised to inaugurate a civilian government in early 1985, following an elaborately scheduled process of internal party reorganization, military-civilian negotiations, constitutional revision and general elections.

The first of those steps, including November's election of delegates to party conventions, has prompted the leadership of Uruguay's traditional parties to resurface nearly intact after a decade of enforced inactivity.

Propelled by widespread discontent with failed economic policies and led by the military's harshest critics, the party leaderships now expect to return the country to much the same government and policies that were disrupted by terrorism and then overturned by the military in 1973.

For many Uruguayans, their democratic past is the great pride of a country often overlooked among South America's giants. It has been governed by progressive democratic governments for most of the 20th century. It introduced women's suffrage and the eight-hour workday before many nations in Europe. With the wealth of its

cattle and sheep ranches, Uruguay constructed the most advanced welfare state in Latin America.

Military leaders see the past governments as ineffectual and elitist and have hoped to install a new model of limited democracy drawn from the rightist military ideologies of the 1970s. Civilian government by this plan would include strict limits on democratic participation, prohibition of leftist parties and an institutionalized role for the armed forces in all future governments.

Few politicians and diplomats here now believe that the military will achieve all it wants. For the new restrictions need the support of political leaders to be implemented.

The question of just how Uruguay's next government is elected and structured has become the crucial issue for both the military and the re-emergent political parties and a principal motive for the continuing shows of repression by the government, political leaders say.

Beginning in March, military leaders and committees elected by the newly reactivated political parties are scheduled to begin negotiating the changes in Uruguay's constitution sought by the military and the handling of military government corruption and human rights violations.

Party leaders, although willing to compromise on such issues as human rights, intend to demand a lifting of the outstanding restrictions on leftist parties.

"There is a test here of whether the move to democracy is being led by the military, or forced by the opposition," said Javier Fernández, an editor of the opposition magazine *Opinión*.

So far, while the government has dictated the timetable and form of the democratic opening, its decision to give up power has appeared to be anything but voluntary.

Politically unlearned and often inarticulate, Uruguay's military leaders borrowed much of their policy and politics from the military governments in Brazil, Chile and Argentina, where ideologists envisioned the transformation of political, economic and cultural life with vaguely defined anti-communist and conservative Christian values.

The turning point came in 1980 when the armed forces sought to institutionalize their absolute power while offering limited democracy through a new constitution, only to suffer a remarkable defeat in a plebiscite.

Now, with economic activity off by 10 percent from two years ago and unemployment at nearly 14 percent in a country of only 3 million, there are many who predict that the government could be forced to abandon all its demands and turn over power earlier than planned.

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Talks for El Salvador

It seems that at least one part of the American government, centered in the State Department, fears that the bottom may drop out of the current American policy in El Salvador. Either the government's situation there will deteriorate or U.S. congressional support will fall. This, in our view, is a correct, conservative and prudent analysis, given the Salvadoran government's continuing difficulties and the growing unrest in the U.S. Congress. It is the basis for the consideration now being given to a new American approach to resolving the multiple issues—peace, security, power, justice, regional stability, external influence—of the war.

To judge by what is known, the State Department is dead set against cutting or conditioning the current life-sustaining American aid to El Salvador in order to compel Salvadorans either to do more in human rights and reforms or to enter negotiations with the left. There is some favor for this approach in Congress, but none in the Reagan administration. Rather, the department means to try, through an intermediary, to see if negotiations can be started between the two Salvadoran sides.

Explicitly, the effort rejects the guerrillas' proposal for talks in which the left would gain a share of power without having earned it in elections. But the effort also involves, implicitly, backing off the support the United States

has so far given the Salvadoran government's plan to let the left compete in elections run by that government; the left, distrustful and no doubt hoping for more than it could earn in elections, has spurned the offer. Instead, the United States would support "the cooperative development of political processes that are democratic and that provide the security as well as the means for reconciliation." Just what this gobbledygook means only talks could tell.

But that is running ahead of the story. The first requirement is for the administration as a whole to decide whether it wishes to experiment with a new approach. Some important quarters are holding fast to the current policy. They are not frivolous.

There need be no apology for a policy of supporting the Salvadoran government in battle, in reforms and in elections.

The question is how the policy is working, and the increasing evidence is that it is not working well enough: the war goes on at great cost and without apparent end, and what is built up by slow and irregular progress in reforms and rights is constantly eroded by violence arising at both ends of the political spectrum. This is the urgent reason to consider a policy that would conceivably isolate the extremes and allow the pursuit of peace.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Death and the Court

The U.S. Supreme Court, which is supposed to look after the fair administration of the death penalty, now leads the nation in mismanaging that sentence. Justice Potter Stewart's vivid complaint a decade ago that the penalty was "so freakishly and so wantonly imposed" can now be properly directed to the highest court in the land.

In December, the court allowed the execution of Charles Brooks, a Texas murderer, by lethal injection—despite unanswered arguments that he had been denied the judicial review that federal law requires. Now, in the Thomas Barefoot case, the court calls for special argument on what the courts should do when asked to stay an execution. There is no legal difference between the cases—except that one inmate was executed while the other lives for another day in court.

Both men committed vicious murders. Mr. Brooks killed or helped to kill a used-car salesman; Mr. Barefoot murdered a policeman. Each appealed his death sentence through several courts and was turned down by a federal

district court in Texas. Both were denied a stay of execution but obtained what the law calls a "certificate of probable cause," endorsing an appeal to the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

The Supreme Court has said many times that this certificate requires the Court of Appeals to hear the appeal on its merits, but the court refused and sealed its refusal by denying both a stay of execution. In the Brooks case, over three strong dissents, the Supreme Court let the execution proceed. Now, in the Barefoot case, it has agreed to consider "the appropriate standard for granting or denying a stay of execution" in such circumstances.

For all the similarity in their crimes and legal arguments, Mr. Barefoot's success would not help Mr. Brooks. Even if Mr. Barefoot loses, Mr. Brooks, too, deserved to live until his case was finally heard. As Justice Stewart observed in 1972, "These death sentences are cruel and unusual in the same way that being struck by lightning is cruel and unusual."

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Opinion

After Bush, a Void

Mr. Bush has learned a little on his European trek. He pointedly declined to use the words "zero option" in the Guildhall [in London]. He quoted his leader: "There can be no winners in nuclear war—only losers." He unveiled no more disastrously misguided "open letters" from the White House. He talked of flexibility and of the clear support of Mrs. Thatcher (which is not necessarily the same thing). But there is now, perhaps, no way that itinerant politicians can win these arguments by words if they emerge from such an ambivalent and chaotic Washington background. Only deeds will do. Only the outcome at Geneva can decide. And in the meantime the void in Western policy—a void opened again by Mr. Bush's lack of specific proposals and by Mr. Andropov's wily lobbying of new notions into the ring—yawns wider and wider.

—The Guardian (London).

An End to 'Sharonism'?

The decline, if not the fall, of Ariel Sharon as an Israeli political superpower seems almost certain. But if Mr. Sharon has been gravely discredited, the question remains: To what extent has "Sharonism"—a clearly defined and readily recognizable Israeli security doctrine—been equally discredited?

The answer could make a very big difference in Israeli policy—not to mention U.S.-Israeli relations. As prime minister, Menachem Begin has been much more than nominally Mr. Sharon's boss. What Mr. Sharon did, it has to be assumed, Mr. Begin has supported, for whatever combination of policy and political reasons. But Mr. Sharon has been the professional military strategist—the driving, initiative force—to whose judgment Mr. Begin more often than not deferred.

Mr. Sharon has also been the most outspoken obstructionist of U.S. policy. He was openly contemptuous of both the follow-up Reagan "initiative" to Camp David and the efforts of Philip C. Habib, the U.S. special envoy, to arrange the withdrawal of Israeli and other foreign forces from Lebanon.

True, Mr. Begin needs, now more than ever, something to show for Lebanon. So a quick agreement on withdrawal is not in the cards. But the weakening, one way or the other, of Mr. Sharon's freedom to run roughshod has to make some difference. For Mr. Sharon's view of the West Bank, just to begin with, has much less to do with religious history than it has to do with a grand, geopolitical design.

It is worth looking at a document in which, a little more than a year ago, Mr. Sharon laid out his view of "Israel's strategic problems in the 1980s." In it, he goes further than anything said by any leading political figures in his readiness to express the concept of preemptive military action to meet potential threats. The Baghdad bombing was only a portent for Arab neighbors engaged in nuclear development. Lebanon was already a gleam in his eye: "We will prevent any violation of the status quo ante in Lebanon."

He would prevent as well suspicious troop movements, or any "accumulation of forces in the confrontation area" in neighboring countries. Mr. Sharon's central argument was that increased Arab military capabilities make Israel, with its occupied territory, no safer than it was behind its pre-1967 borders.

It is difficult to measure the degree to which "Sharonism" was uniquely Mr. Sharon. But "Sharonism" without the same old Sharon would lose much of its force.

—Philip Geyelin in The Washington Post.

The Nonaligned Summit

By sending its senior diplomats to some 30 countries, India hopes to give the upcoming summit [of nonaligned nations] a smooth start. This is important, for today the nonaligned movement is so sharply divided on some issues that without an effort to promote accommodation among its sparring members, procedural difficulties may prevent any sort of meaningful deliberations.

The greatest need of the hour, however, is for the movement's members to develop nonalignment into a viable strategy for independent living in a dangerously divided world. The national independence of Third World countries depends on this.

—Dawn (Karachi).

FROM OUR FEB. 12 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1908: Gunrunning Off Macao

SHANGHAI — The Japanese Shipowners Union demands the release of the Japanese gunrunner Tatsu-Maru. It declares that the arrest of the ship by the Chinese Customs officials was illegal, because the cargo of rifles and ammunition had been authorized by the Osaka police and the Kobe Harbor Customs authorities. The shipowners union alleges that the Macao authorities granted permission to import arms intended for the Chinese revolutionaries. Agents of the Japanese government recently approached Russian officials, then Chinese authorities, offering to sell them nearly 100,000 Russian rifles, part of their spoils in the recent war. It is believed the cargo seized off Macao forms part of these arms.

1933: Cuban Revolt Reported

MIAMI — Despite official denial from Havana, the N.Y. Herald Tribune correspondent learned today that a new revolt has broken out in Cuba. Exiled Cubans here expect word momentarily of the outbreak, which has as its aim the forcible overthrow of the Machado government. Two well-equipped armies, commanded by two sons of General Mario Menocal, the exiled Cuban leader, are marching on Havana tonight. The revolutionary forces are reported to be augmented by several hundred veterans of the American army who saw service in France during the World War. The revolt follows attempts by opposition groups to capitalize on widespread discontent over President Machado's dictatorial regime.

New Israeli Flexibility Appears Likely

By Richard Strauss
and Ken Wollack

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration's cautious public reaction to the Israeli inquiry commission's report belies months of anxious anticipation.

It was originally thought by some in the administration that a harsh report might so disrupt the political climate in Israel that the Begin government would fall and be replaced by a Labor-led coalition.

The worst-kept secret in Washington (especially since the qualified endorsement by the Labor Party leader, Shimon Peres, of President Reagan's Mideast peace initiative) is the administration's preference for a Labor government.

However, a more realistic assessment ultimately prevailed. It was soon realized that there was little chance that even a blanket condemnation of the Begin government would shake the Likud bloc's popular support. Therefore, senior officials in the administration scaled down their expectations and narrowed their focus to the departure of their bete noire, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon.

With Mr. Sharon out of the way, some argue that the "relentless locomotive" (as one administration policymaker described him) of Israeli policy in Lebanon will be stopped. These officials believe that the real problem in the Lebanon negotiations has not been the question of security arrangements for Israel's northern borders, but rather Mr. Sharon's efforts to use military power to shape his own political objectives in Lebanon.

Ostensibly, Mr. Sharon has sought full normalization with the Lebanese government, but U.S. officials assert that his ultimate goal is to bring Lebanon under Israel's sphere of influence. It is for this reason U.S. officials believe that Mr. Sharon has tried to discredit the role of the multinational force, including the American Marine contingent, and to prevent it from expanding its functions.

With Mr. Sharon out of the cabinet or at least

stripped of his defense portfolio, American officials believe that Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and David Kinche, Israel's negotiator in the Lebanon talks, will play the dominant role on Lebanon. Mr. Shamir and Mr. Kinche, while seeking to win maximum security guarantees for Israel, are viewed in Washington as more sensitive to U.S.-Israel relations and to the need to reach an acceptable political accommodation with the Gennayel government.

And even on the more intractable West Bank issue, some U.S. officials believe that, notwithstanding Mr. Begin's deeply held convictions, the Israeli prime minister would be able to display more flexibility on the crucial question of "freezing" Israeli settlements. Without Mr. Sharon, said one administration official, "the Israeli position on the West Bank will be tough and hard but not frozen."

Moreover, the departure of Mr. Sharon in the domestic turmoil that Mr. Begin must now deal with, in the words of one State Department official, "creates a window of opportunity" for U.S. policymakers. This official believes that at some point Mr. Begin must look to repair the battered state of U.S.-Israeli relations. Then the United States can press for its two chief goals—withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon and adoption of the president's peace initiative.

However, senior U.S. officials believe that before they can take advantage of the political turmoil in Israel, they must break the linkage between Lebanon and the president's plan.

As originally envisioned by the administration, Mr. Reagan's Sept. 1 peace plan was to run parallel to the Lebanon negotiations, which the United States had hoped would produce an agreement on withdrawal of all foreign forces by December of last year.

As the U.S. timetable slipped into the new year, however, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, in particular, demanded a demonstration of U.S. resolve in Lebanon before proceeding to any peace negotiations on the West Bank.

"The Arabs were telling Hussein that if the United States can't achieve an Israeli withdrawal in Lebanon, how can he expect the United States to deliver on the West Bank?" one American official said.

Acquiescing in the principle of linkage, the administration began pressing for a quick Israeli agreement on withdrawal before March 1, the date set by King Hussein for his decision on whether to enter the peace process.

"The administration allowed its most important goal [the Reagan peace plan] to become hostage to Lebanon," lamented one administration official. U.S. officials argue that the prospect of American pressure on the West Bank issue upon completion of the Lebanon talks is a "disincentive" for Israel to make major concessions.

As a result, administration officials, resigned to the fact that a withdrawal agreement in Lebanon will not be reached before March 1, are now seeking ways to return to their original "two-track" policy. They hope to persuade King Hussein that Israeli troops will eventually withdraw from Lebanon and that now, following the release of the massacre inquiry report, is the ideal time for the king to announce his readiness to join peace negotiations.

This would put "Begin on the spot," one U.S. official said. And if Mr. Begin were to seek vindication of his Lebanon policies by precipitating new national elections, King Hussein—as a State Department official said—"could add 'peace with Jordan' as another campaign issue."

The authors are co-editors of the Middle East Policy Survey, a biweekly newsletter published in Washington. They contributed this comment to the Los Angeles Times.

Nakasone's Uphill Battle to Bolster the Military

By Ken Ishii

TOKYO — One of the most popular programs on Japanese television emanates from the Diet, where cameras bear down for hours without interruption on selected plenary and committee sessions.

Live television coverage of Diet proceedings by the commercial-free, semi-governmental Nippon Hoso Kyokai, or NHK, brings national politics into millions of homes. No politician can afford a dull performance on camera.

On such issues as the economy, taxes and welfare, the debate can be provocative and informative. But when the subject turns to defense, the arguments too often are based on inconsistencies that reflect not only the views of the speakers but the opinion of a sizable segment of the public.

Consider the recent proceedings of the lower house Finance Committee. The questioning by opposition legislators dealt with Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's decision to furnish the United States with Japanese military technology. His statement that Japan should be able to block the three straits leading out of the Japan Sea through which the Soviet fleet at Vladivostok must pass to reach the Pacific, his statement that

Japanese naval vessels would provide protection to U.S. ships coming to the assistance of a beleaguered Japan, and other remarks on matters of the nation's defense.

The constitution clearly bans the possession of arms. The military establishment today enjoys only a weak legitimacy by virtue of a supreme court ruling that says, effectively, that the arms ban does not deny Japan the right to defend itself. Here is the most basic inconsistency, and it is one that Mr. Nakasone would like to remove. But the national consensus needed for the constitutional revision he seeks is still far off.

Meanwhile, most Japanese have come to terms with their defense forces, if only as a necessary appendage to sovereignty. They approve of the defense forces but oppose making them strong enough to constitute an effective deterrent, because they do not believe anyone will ever attack Japan. This is the second inconsistency.

As the recent Diet debate showed, the same people who accept the existence of the defense forces will not allow them the freedom of movement

needed to repel an attack, and they will not recognize the fact that modern warfare transcends territorial boundaries, especially for an island nation.

Hence the expressions of outrage that anyone, including the prime minister, should suggest that the blocking of the Japan Sea straits might be necessary for a nation under attack, and the refusal to accept the idea of Japanese protection for American ships coming to aid Japan under terms of the U.S.-Japan security treaty, which stipulates that both countries "have the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense as affirmed in the charter of the United Nations."

While approving of the free ride Japan has gotten from the American security umbrella, many Japanese find it difficult to accept the fact that their security is based on a collective concept where there is both giving and taking. It has long been an anomaly to outsiders how in a nation so economically dependent on the rest of the world, so many can be indifferent to the need for collective security and the responsibilities that go

with it. The give is minimal, the take maximal.

While Mr. Nakasone has made a good start in stirring the public consciousness to Japan's international role, there is still public sympathy for arguments that giving Japanese military technology to the United States helps escalate the arms race, or that Japan, by defending its sea-lanes or blocking its straits, makes itself a pawn of American global strategy and risks becoming embroiled in a U.S.-Soviet confrontation.

Yet, the same people who shy away from the obligations of a collective security arrangement expect the United States to abide by its treaty obligation to defend Japan. They contend Japan needs only a minimum defense force to hold off an aggressor until U.S. forces come to the rescue. Indeed, this has been a fundamental assumption of Japanese defense planning.

Despite Mr. Nakasone's hawkish statements and sometimes unfortunate choice of words—such as likening Japan to "an unsinkable aircraft carrier"—in an interview with The Washington Post—he has said and done nothing to indicate he intends to go beyond the ceilings of the military buildup approved in 1980.

Assuming the buildup is completed by 1985 as scheduled—and there it is unclear whether there will be enough funds to meet this goal—Japan's military capability will remain limited, serving primarily as a complement to the U.S. military presence in Asia.

The prime minister enhances his hawkish image by his straightforward talk. In the game of Japanese parliamentary debate where the art of evasion has been honed to a high degree, Mr. Nakasone refuses to play by the rules. It has been entertaining to listen to some of the recent give-and-take between him and his questioners. More than once his directness has left them at a loss.

This outspokenness and a willingness to act have earned Mr. Nakasone both praise as a strong leader and criticism that he is moving too recklessly.

The outcome of the prefectural elections in April and the upper house elections in June—which might coincide with a general election, according to persistent speculation—will tell what the voters think.

International Herald Tribune.



For Latin America, Hope Comes From Europe

By Carlos Fuentes

PARIS — The importance of culture in the midst of crisis is nothing new to us in Latin America. Our countries have always lived in crisis; and we seem to know that when all is lost, we at least have the floating plank of our identity to rely upon. Memory, a few words, certain forms which are ourselves when everything else denies us.

Latin America is a continent of political and economic fragmentation. It has no unity except that of its mixed Indian, black and Mediterranean culture. We are happy that now Europeans also reflect on what is most profound, universal and lasting in their own heritage. We are all caught up in the worst crisis since the end of World War II. We are all prey to the same menaces against prosperity, independence and even survival. For the first time, Europe and Latin America simultaneously feel that their forms of civilization are fragile and insecure.

The conference on crisis and culture is taking place in France, a country where we are reading an unpublished chapter in the history of socialism. This is a socialism that does not refuse the freedoms previously achieved. It places the right to culture at the center of an order that includes the values of political democracy and of economic development, but excludes the dispensable companions of those values: the rapacity of individual groups or the tyranny of a political bureaucracy.

Socialism cannot be identified with historical fatalism, for it would then lose its cultural dimension: Culture is the seashell where we can listen to the voices of what we have forgotten and also of what we can become.

This weekend, at the invitation of President Francois Mitterrand, notable artists and intellectuals from around the world will gather in Paris for a conference on culture during economic and political crisis. Among those invited was the Mexican writer Carlos Fuentes, who sent this conference.

This is important for Latin America, where so many of our countries struggle to cease being banana republics, but do not want to become balalaika republics. We find ourselves starting from zero, both politically and economically; the first priority is to feed, educate and heal. Over and over, in Mexico, in Guatemala, in Cuba, in Chile, in Nicaragua, the United States has tried to obstruct these modest goals from becoming reality. Over and over, political intervention, blockades, propaganda campaigns and armed invasion have been the North American response to the minimal gestures of Latin American independence.

These facts hurt us, condition us and sometimes even blind us. I believe that European socialism can be the axis for a different option for Latin America. This option favors a multipolar world. It favors the diversification of cooperation for development and democracy without the dictatorship of private capital or dogmatic bureaucracies.

From Mexico to Argentina, Latin America is about to live one of the most profound transformations of its history. Not only are the cardboard castles of our old Iberian paternalism falling down. The celluloid skyscrapers of North American exploitation, the onion domes and the paper pagodas of communism and, in general, the excessive confidence in unlimited profitability and prog-

ress for progress's sake, are all crumbling before our very eyes. I think we are finally going to find ourselves with societies neither new nor old but, simply, finally, ours: authentically Latin American, congruous in their identification of political and cultural values.

These societies must take care of the basic needs of health, education and labor, but without sacrificing the equally basic needs of debate, criticism and unhindered political and cultural expression. The United States shall be sorry that it did not identify itself with our true possibilities and could not abide our freedom. The United States shall one day find itself alone with its boom companion, the Soviet Union, lamenting the passing of the world that they dominated so foolishly, so dangerously.

The pretex against democracy in Latin America are as fragile as the pretex against independence, schools and hospitals. So are the immoral strategies which condemn in another. We can only defend El Salvador if we defend Afghanistan. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union has any right to intervene in the countries of their traditional "spheres of influence." These spheres will only be deflated if we all deny this "right" to both powers. Let Poland be Poland; let Nicaragua be Nicaragua.

The hope of Latin American inde-

pendence today passes through France, through Europe. We must count on the decisions taken on that continent to help us in our policy of renovation and diversification. We bring to the world an old acquaintance with historical crisis and a very close proximity to the saving identity of culture. In the 19th century we were the pioneers of decolonization. As the 20th century ends, we should be the pioneers of a world freed from the oppressive whim of two superpowers.

Los Angeles Times.

Decoupling The Zero Option: The Argument

By Tom Wicker

NEW YORK — Vice President George Bush argued strenuously in Europe for the ideal "eliminating from the face of the earth an entire class of new dead missiles." But the ideal is seldom attainable; and the more the Reagan administration pushes for this on the more it actually appears to want its own intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

In his Geneva speech, Mr. Bush even declared that President Reagan's "zero option" was a "moral position."

If the administration regards the proposal as a "moral position," rather than a negotiating position, President Reagan would have obvious difficulty in compromising it. And Mr. Bush's challenge to Moscow was to formulate an acceptable compromise but to "come up with a plan to banish these [intermediate-range] missiles."

That seemed to ask Moscow to propose its own zero option. The proposal Mr. Bush is reported to have heard opposition from the European allies to the all-or-nothing approach and certainly did not seem the doctrine on compromise, he did not seem to give much ground.

Perhaps that is only astute negotiating tactics—shoring up allied support while keeping the U.S. in a position, if any, well concealed from Moscow. But in an article in The New York Times, meanwhile, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, the undersecretary of state, made deploying American missiles in Europe appear to be positively useful step (NYT, Feb. 9).

As well as a military counter to the Soviets," Mr. Eagleburger wrote, "the Pershing and cruise missiles will serve as a vivid political symbol for the unbreakable security connection between the democracies of Western Europe and of North America."

Does not read as if he wants to diminish the status of these missiles from the face of the earth.

Mr. Bush, in Paris, made the suggestion in reverse—that "the Soviet Union, having already deployed sufficient missiles to intimidate Western Europe, is now trying to decouple our security from each other."

Mr. Eagleburger and Mr. Bush also insisted that the Soviet proposal would leave Moscow, as the vice president put it, "with significant advantages, in particular a monopoly over the United States in intermediate-range missiles."

On the face of it, these statements seem to proclaim the "moral position" that Mr. Reagan's zero option is the only alternative to a Soviet monopoly in intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

If that is an accurate interpretation of the Bush-Eagleburger statements it amounts almost to a formula to insure the NATO missile deployment. But it also overlooks several vital points:

• Since 1963, when the United States withdrew its Thor and Jupiter medium-range missiles from the Continent, the Soviet Union, with about 650 SS-4s and SS-5s deployed, has in fact had a monopoly on such missiles in Europe. But of no decoupling result, and for most of that period U.S. land- and sea-based intercontinental missiles, British and French nuclear forces, and NATO aircraft armed with nuclear weapons were regarded as providing sufficient deterrent to Soviet missile attack on Europe.

• The Soviet monopoly became intolerable, first to European governments, hence to the United States only after 1977, when Moscow began deploying the modern, three-warhead SS-20.

• To demand that the Russian now dismantle all their medium-range missiles is to ask them not only to give up the frightening SS-20 but also the medium-range missile advantage accepted for more than a decade by five American presidents—while NATO would give up none of the weapons those presidents relied upon to counter the Soviet advantage.

• If Moscow refuses this one-sided demand, and NATO missile deployment proceeds, the Pershing will be only six to eight minutes from targets in the Soviet Union, surely a destabilizing development. It might also prove to be a "moral position" if millions of Western Europeans, out of coupled U.S.-European security but of U.S. determination to defend Europe only from European soil.

• Zero is not the only option, and is probably unattainable anyway. Demanding that the Russians go back the 1,200 warheads they aim at Western Europe today to the rough 600 they had in 1977 (or less, if possible), would offer better prospects of success.

The New York Times.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

A Sailor's Role

Regarding "The Case Against Passivity" (NYT, Jan. 31):

I would, as an eyewitness, like to add some disruptive thoughts to Herbert London's level-headed piece.

A year before independence, there was no plan or intention to grant independence to India or Pakistan. It was still considered a few years away. Some 600 million Indians were held under the British jackboot by fewer than 20,000 British troops, mostly conscripts with diarrhea.

Gandhi's passive resistance, of course, had its effect, but riots, the murder of security troops and so forth also played a softening-up role on British Raj policy, particularly as the old internal divide-and-rule system used in disciplining the Indian Army had failed, due to a growing national political sense among the troops.

ry was caused, however, by Mohammed Khan, a seaman in the Royal Indian Navy. He mimicked the entire Royal Indian Navy fleet at Bombay, Karachi, and other ports. The ships hoisted independence flag and pointed their guns at the Taj Mahal Hotel, the Yacht Club and the city of Bombay generally. This action, which lasted a week, was a no-win situation for the British Raj and was therefore covered by a great embargo. Immediately after this tiny, independence legislation was rushed through, with the terrifying cost in human lives that is well known.

The only reference to Khan's mutiny I have ever come across is in John Master's novel "Bhowani Crossin." Gandhi, Nehru and Mohammed Ali Jinnah played no part in this salutary decision action, which is probably why it is never mentioned.

PHILIP DALLAS.
Rome.

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Tablets include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

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Foreign Investment In U.S. Fell in

U.S., Japan Accord Set on Technology

By Robert D. Hershey Jr.
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The United States and Japan have agreed on a program to allow U.S. companies much greater access to the Japanese market for high-technology products.

The agreement, announced Thursday by the Commerce Department, guarantees U.S. companies access to Japanese trade and investment opportunities and to research projects supported by the Japanese government. It also commits Tokyo to redress the trade effects of its practice of "targeting" export markets for dominance by Japanese companies.

Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige said: "Access to Japanese technology on a fair and competitive basis, as they have access to ours, will help U.S. industry improve productivity and balance the flow of technology between our countries."

Alan W. Wolff, counsel to the Semiconductor Industry Association, welcomed the agreement, which he called a very important step though not a "cure-all" toward better trade relations in high technology.

"The fact that the Japanese government is willing to discuss in detail their desire of involvement in

have been hastened by various American threats to retaliate against what the United States regards as unfair trade practices in several areas.

A Commerce Department official who asked not to be identified, said: "The more the pot boils, the easier it is to get agreements." He was alluding to such moves as approval last year by the House of Representatives of legislation that would force producers of automobiles sold in the United States to use minimum percentages of American parts and labor.

Aides Back Expansion

(Continued from Page 7)

gan, Canada's minister of state for international trade.

The nations they represent account for 60 percent of world trade.

■ U.S.-Japan Farm Talks

Japanese Foreign Ministry sources said Friday that Japan and the United States had agreed to resume working-level talks on agricultural trade. Reuters reported from Tokyo that the talks would

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SPORTS

Calling It Quits: For Some, It's 'Burnout' Time

In the NFL, 8 Goodbyes

The Associated Press
NEW YORK — Dick Vermeil was burned out. Ray Perkins was homesick. Walt Michaels needed a vacation. Chuck Knox simply needed a vacation from Buffalo. The others? They suffered from that familiar coaching malady — not enough victories.

Vermeil, who coached the Philadelphia Eagles, was fired by the New York Jets. Perkins, who coached the Buffalo Bills, was fired by the Buffalo Bills. Michaels, who coached the Los Angeles Rams, was fired by the Rams. Knox, who coached the Seattle Seahawks, was fired by the Seahawks. The others? They suffered from that familiar coaching malady — not enough victories.

That is not a record — there were 10 coaching changes between the 1977 and 1978 seasons. But this year's turnover, coming after a 57-day strike and a nine-game regular season, seems to emphasize that life at the top of the coaching world isn't that rosy.

The roster of departed coaches includes:
• Perkins, who announced Dec. 15 that he would resign from the New York Jets coach to take Bear Bryant's job as head coach at Alabama, his alma mater. Perkins, who said he couldn't refuse an offer to return home, also was reported to have been disillusioned with professional football by the strike.

• Vermeil, who quit the Philadelphia Eagles, was fired by the New York Jets. Perkins, who coached the Buffalo Bills, was fired by the Buffalo Bills. Michaels, who coached the Los Angeles Rams, was fired by the Rams. Knox, who coached the Seattle Seahawks, was fired by the Seahawks. The others? They suffered from that familiar coaching malady — not enough victories.

• Knox, who resigned with a year left on a six-year contract with the Buffalo Bills after continuing differences with the club's management. One day later, he signed with the Seattle Seahawks.

• Mike McCormack, a much-travelled veteran of the coaching wars, who vacated the Seahawks' job to move up to general manager.

• Marv Levy, fired by the Kansas City Chiefs after the team improved its record each of his first four years, but then stumbled in the strike-shortened 1982 season. One reason given by the Chiefs: Levy's offense was too dull, failing to attract enough fans to Arrowhead Stadium.



A recent departure: Walt Michaels, New York Jets.

Parcells with the Giants, Marion Campbell with the Eagles, Joe Stabile with the Jets, all moved up from assistant jobs with their teams. John Mackovic in Kansas City and Dan Henning in Atlanta, moved up from assistant coaching jobs in Dallas and Washington, respectively.

Plus Knox in Seattle and a vacancy with the Rams.

Three of the recently departed coaches — Knox, Michaels and Levy — were members of that 10-member class of 1978. Of those 10, only two remain in their jobs — Sam Kneib in Cleveland and Monte Clark in Detroit.

As Lamar Hunt, owner of the Chiefs, said in announcing Levy's demise, "There are more coaches who fail than succeed."

So enter the new coaches: Bill Belichick with the Patriots, who led the team to a 10-6 record and a spot in the expanded 16-team playoffs wasn't good enough.

And Ray Malavasi, who coached the Los Angeles Rams to records of 5-11 and 2-7 the past two years after making the Super Bowl in 1980.

Bill Walsh, who guided the San Francisco 49ers to the Super Bowl championship a year ago, considered quitting after a 3-6 record this season, staying on only as the team's general manager. Walsh cited the emotional strain and drug problems among his players, but decided to stay on the job because he couldn't find another coach with whom he was satisfied.

So enter the new coaches: Bill Belichick with the Patriots, who led the team to a 10-6 record and a spot in the expanded 16-team playoffs wasn't good enough.

Medical World Is Taking a Look At the Stress Factor in Athletics

The Associated Press
EAST LANSING, Michigan — "Burnout." It's a word that appears more and more in sports reports, as coaches and players say they are quitting because they can no longer deal with the pressures of the games that have made them rich and famous.

It's also a problem that puzzles psychologists and physicians who specialize in sports medicine.

"We don't know very much, physiologically," said Larry Armstrong, a doctoral fellow at Ball State University's Human Performance Laboratory. "It's probably a combination of mental and physical factors. How you treat it depends on how soon you want to bring them back. It's best to rest or find diversions."

"It's not the stress — it's the meaninglessness of the stress," said Bill Beausay, a Toledo, Ohio, psychologist and executive director of the Academy for the Psychology of Sports. "What Bjorn Borg says about 'not wanting to pay the price' just isn't true. Nobody ever gets sick of making a lot of money."

"What they do get sick of is getting put behind, being told that you have to qualify at Wimbledon. When little unpleasant things begin to creep in, that's what you don't like."

Borg, a five-time winner of the men's singles championship at Wimbledon, announced last month that he was retiring from competitive tennis at the age of 26.

"I cannot give 100 percent," said Borg, who began playing as a professional when he was 16. "Tennis has to be fun if you are to get to the top, and I don't feel that way any more."

Borg's announcement closely followed the decision by Dick Vermeil, who took the Philadelphia Eagles to the Super Bowl two years ago, to retire as coach of the National Football League club at the age of 46.

"I'm burned out," Vermeil said. "I'm physically and mentally drained. I just have to get out for a while."

Glen Sounor, coach of the Minnesota North Stars of the National Hockey League, also cited burnout when he announced his retirement last month. Beausay

said more athletes and coaches soon may add their names to the list.

"You watch, in the next year, a lot of other tennis players are going to say the same thing Borg has said," he said. "Whenever a person gets in that state — burnout — listen very carefully to what they are saying to you. In Borg's case, tennis hasn't changed in 100 years. What he's saying is that Bjorn Borg isn't fun anymore."

According to Ronald L. Smith, a professor and director of clinical psychology training at the University of Washington, burnout can be linked to stress or lack of incentive.

"In Vermeil's case, if he had developed some other stress management skills — learned to get out from under the job a bit — he might have avoided burning out," Smith said. "It becomes a deadly business."

Borg's case is very different. He decided the rewards were not worth the cost. Stress was not so much a factor with Borg.

World-class tennis players and big-league coaches aren't the only ones facing burnout. Doug McKee, a physician for Michigan State University varsity teams, also has worked with athletes through the university's Youth Sports Institute.

Frequently, young athletes are sick of their sport by the time they reach high school and drop out because they've never had time for their own self-induced activities, McKee said.

Burned-out coaches also suffer from the "overuse syndrome," the doctor added.

"This is not a psychological disorder. These people are not crazy," McKee said. "I don't know them, but my guess is they may feel like they were trapped in their situations — in a system."

The coaches who last the longest are those like Bud Grant of the NFL's Minnesota Vikings — whose foodness for hunting and fishing is widely publicized — and Penn State's Joe Paterno, who also has developed interests outside football.

"When you've got a Bud Grant or a Joe Paterno you've got a nugget, and you'd better hold on to him," McKee said. "That's what we need more of in sports."

Stenmark Wins Slalom in France; Phil Mahre Regains Overall Lead

The Associated Press
MARKSTEIN, France — In general, Stenmark slashed through ice and powder snow Friday to win by a half-second his third World Cup slalom ski race of the season.

The 26-year-old Swedish slalom king, who reigned as World Cup champion from 1976 to 1978, combined two excellent runs through a total of 135 gates to win in a time of 1 minute, 44.54 seconds.

Paolo De Ceresa of Italy was second in 1:45.04, with Phil Mahre of the United States, the defending World Cup champion, third in 1:45.23.

The race replaced a slalom event that had been canceled in Wengen, Switzerland, on Jan. 21, which also replaced a canceled Wengen race.

Mahre's performance returned him to first place in the overall World Cup standings. He had fallen to second place behind Switzerland's Peter Lüscher after a superb slalom race Wednesday in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, West Germany.

Stenmark posted 52.92 for the fastest time in the first heat and was third in the other with 51.62.

The Swedish star, who won the World Cup slalom title for seven consecutive years before Mahre wrestled it away in 1982, climbed back on top of this season's slalom rankings after Friday's race.

"I thought the course was well prepared," said Stenmark, who previously won slaloms this season at Kitzbühel, Austria, and Courmayeur, Italy.

Mahre won the combined event Friday, a paper race combining the slalom and a downhill race held in Kitzbühel on Jan. 21, which also replaced a canceled Wengen race.

The 25-year-old American picked up 25 points for his combined victory and 15 points in the slalom to total 186 points.

"It was important for me to win the combined," said Mahre, the 1981 and 1982 World Cup champion. "I didn't ski well in the first heat because the course was flat. But I like flat courses and I proved I could handle it in the second heat." The course had a vertical drop of 155 meters.

Mahre placed sixth in the 66-gate first heat and tied with Sweden's Bengt Fjällberg for the fastest time in the 69-gate second heat at 51.59 seconds. Fjällberg finished eighth in the race.

It was the first World Cup event to be held in the Vosges Mountains. A giant slalom is scheduled at Markstein on Saturday.

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ART BUCHWALD

Supply-Side Romance

WASHINGTON — Recession affects everyone, even people who are in love.

They also give some people who are in love reasons not to get married.

"I would marry right now, but where would we live?"

"What's wrong with here?"

"I wouldn't want my wife to live in this squalor."

"I've been living here for eight months."

"Yes, but it's one thing to live here because you're so in love you haven't noticed the squalor. Once we get married the romance will go out of the squalor, and you'll want to move to a place I can't afford."

"You're just using the recession as an excuse for not marrying me."

"How can you say such a thing? I told you when I met you I was a romantic supply-sider. How did I know that interest rates would go through the ceiling, the economy would stagnate, and unemployment would be at an all-time high? How can a man contemplate wedlock when nothing is trickling down from the top?"

"Men are doing it every day."

"Yes, but what kind of men? The big spenders who don't care about a balanced budget, or the viability of the Social Security system or the tight money policies that have driven down inflation to 5 percent. Are you willing to go to the altar at a time when steel production is at the lowest it's been since the depression?"

"I'm starting to think that even if we were in a boom period you wouldn't want to get married."

"You're wrong. I would marry you tomorrow if the gross national product went up by only 10 percent, unemployment was down to 6 percent and automobile sales increased to their 1979 levels. Mar-

riage is a very serious business and people shouldn't jump into it when they know we are going to have a \$1.6-trillion deficit bill by 1986."

"I don't see what all this has to do with us. We love each other and if we don't get married soon we never will."

"Of course we'll get married. President Reagan's advisers expect the economy to turn around in 1983 or '84 or '85. We could even have a mild recovery at the end of this year. The July tax cut might spur the consumer to go out and spend money again. With luck we could get married in any one of the next fiscal years."

"And if all these wonderful things don't happen?"

"Then marriage is out of the question until Reagan gets his house in order. Money, why are you getting mad? Did I know when we started living together that the MX missile system would cost?"

"I don't care what an MX missile costs. I want a home and children and a husband who will take care of me. I'll continue my job if you're worried about the recession."

"Who said I was worried about the recession? I'm worried that I can't give you everything you deserve as a wife. I want the best for you and my children. When we live together no one cares about our lifestyle. Society accepts us as a couple. But once we take the marriage vows we'll be judged by much more materialistic standards. Do you think your parents would let you live like this if you were married?"

"You can't do that. You have to stay close. Everyone has to suffer some pain if we ever hope to right the mistakes of the past 40 years. Look, I'll tell you what I'll do. If Reagan can get the budget down by a lousy \$80 billion without endangering our national security, or increasing personal income taxes, I'll go down to city hall and we'll take out a license the next day."

"You really play it safe, don't you?"

"What do you mean safe? Jack Kemp, a leading supply-sider, is very optimistic."

Debussy Premiere

The Associated Press
SARATOGA, Wyoming — The historical society here borrowed a piano and found space in the high school lunchroom for the first known performance Thursday of a 103-year-old piano trio by Claude Debussy. The 12-minute piece by the youthful composer, who was born in 1862, was performed by the Western Arts Trio.

Martin Scorsese: On Keen Street

By Michiko Kakutani

NEW YORK — When Martin Scorsese first read the script for "The King of Comedy" in 1974, he dismissed it as a one-gag film. The story of an ambitious young comic who kidnaps a famous talk-show host in order to get himself on television didn't interest him at all. Years passed, and Scorsese directed, with much acclaim, such movies as "Taxi Driver," "New York, New York," and "Raging Bull."

When he read the script of "King of Comedy" again in 1979, he says he finally understood what it was all about. Indeed the film — which opens in New York Friday — had taken on an intensely personal resonance for him.

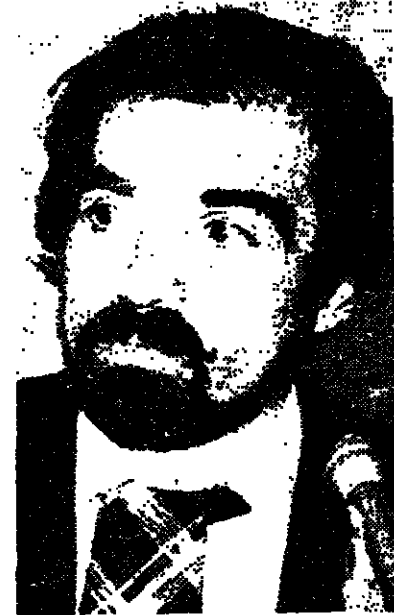
In "The King of Comedy" Robert De Niro plays a novice comedian named Rupert Pupkin, who will do anything, anything, to get Jerry Langford, a television personality played by Jerry Lewis, to invite him to perform on his show. Pupkin wheedles, he whines, he makes a complete pest of himself, and when that doesn't work, he resorts to kidnapping and ransom.

"I can identify with Pupkin," Scorsese says. "It's the same way I made my first pictures with no money and with the constant rejection — going back and going back and going back until finally, somehow, you get a lucky break. Actually, luck doesn't have much to do with it; it's just this constant battering away at this monolith. Pupkin goes about it the wrong way, but he does have drive. I remember I'd go anywhere, do anything, to get into something, get into any kind of social situation to talk to people. It's important who you meet — after all, you meet 40 or 50 people, the one person who will produce your first film might just be there."

It took almost a decade of struggling — after receiving a master's degree from New York University's film department in 1968, he edited documentaries and made commercials — but Scorsese's hustling paid off. Made in 27 days for \$650,000, his third feature, "Mean Streets," earned critical acclaim and helped establish him as one of the country's outstanding directors.

In retrospect, however, he says that that success incurred heavy personal costs — three marriages fell apart, and his friendships, too, suffered from the pressures of his work. Intense, driven and passionate in his love of film, Scorsese, at 40, speaks in rapid staccato sentences — sentences that pile up on each other as though he cannot talk fast enough to express all his thoughts.

"I wanted to look at what it's like to want something so badly you'd kill for it," he says of "King of Comedy." "By kill I don't mean kill physically, but you can kill



Scorsese: "Constant battering."

the spirit, you can kill relationships, you can kill everything else around you in your life. It does affect personal relationships, and the final line for me at the time was that if I had to make a choice between work and a relationship, the personal relationship would go by the wayside. I don't have regrets — whatever's happened over the years, I think happened for the better, but maybe the reason I made this picture is because I hope I wouldn't think the same way now."

One of the things that Scorsese has captured best in his films is a sense of American life — not so much life lived in the mainstream, but life lived on the margins, where the promises of the Dream seem both alluring and elusive. Charlie, the young would-be hood in "Mean Streets," works for his gangster uncle and aspires to rise in the world of crime. Alice, liberated from the past by her husband's death, sets off for Monterey, hoping to make a new life as a singer. And Jake LaMotta, in "Raging Bull," and Jimmy Doyle and Francis Evans in "New York, New York," also harbor dreams of success.

Through these characters and a kind of documentary approach, Scorsese has created perfectly observed worlds: in "Mean Streets," a portrait of life on the Lower East Side, as it is played out in the local pool halls and bars; in "Alice," a portrait of blue-collar life amid the motels and diners of the Southwest; and in "Taxi Driver," a portrait of night-life in New York. But

while his movies often seem to be making certain social observations — "King of Comedy," for instance, may be viewed as a kind of comment on America's obsession with celebrity — Scorsese says that those aspects do not really interest him. "Taxi Driver," he explains, "is much more Dostoevskian than political."

The son of a clothes presser, he grew up in New York's Little Italy, where asthma and a frail physique prevented him from taking part in the macho, street-smart life around him. He spent most of his free time going to the movies, which made him want more than anything, "to be part of that incredible world of the creation of films. Films are like having a person around. And to have films be so much a part of your life that you can't live without them is kind of nice, and I thought that's what I wanted to achieve for other people."

"Mean Streets," Scorsese created a dark, vital portrait of street life on the Lower East Side — the very life he once felt so excluded from. Although the picture chronicled the attempts of young men trying to make it as small-time gangsters, it was more concerned, at heart, with exploring the hero's struggles to reconcile the moral dictates of his conscience with the brutal code of life around him. It raised the question, says Scorsese, of "how does one practice Christian ethics and morals when you're in a world of that sort — and can you be a hoodlum and also be a saint?"

In Scorsese's first feature "Who's That Knocking at My Door?" a young man attempted to reconcile sexual desire with his Catholic sense of guilt. In "Taxi Driver," the demented hero's asceticism and isolation turned him into a kind of saint-narrator; his determination to purge New York of its pimping and prostitution, possessed all the fervor and intensity of the Old Testament God. And in "Raging Bull," the story of the boxer Jake LaMotta's rise and fall took on mythic qualities of suffering and redemption.

Not surprisingly, "Raging Bull" also reflected certain spiritual struggles Scorsese was experiencing at the time. It was 1978, and the director had just finished making "New York, New York" — a picture, he says, now that marked the end of his love affair with film. Employing painted backdrops and making pictures — because to make films in such an impassioned way, you really have to believe in it, you're really going to want to tell that story, and after a while, you may find out that life itself is more important than the filmmaking process. Maybe part of the answer for what the hell we're doing here has to be in the process of living itself, rather than in the work." He pauses, and then laughs. "Of course, you're talking to a person who's leaving this Sunday to look for new locations for the next picture."

messy his life had become and he thought about how the success he had wanted so much had turned out to be so hollow. Somehow, in the midst of this, he says he had a kind of revelation about how to make "Raging Bull." In "New York, New York," he had already touched upon the consequences of success — the marriage between the Lisa Minelli and Robert De Niro characters falters when he career takes off and he does not — and he realized that a similar parable was provided by the story of how Jake LaMotta won a boxing championship at the expense of his family and self-esteem.

The movie not only transformed Scorsese's personal dilemma into a critically acclaimed work of art, but it also represented a kind of stylistic breakthrough. In the past, his films had possessed a nervous, eclectic style. They were filled with references to previous films — the Wizard of Oz homage in "Alice," the "Star is Born" allusions in "New York, New York" — and his hectic, expressionistic camera work often jarred with his tendency to work with actors in a naturalistic, almost documentary, fashion. Largely in reaction to the high stylization of "New York, New York," he had tried to simplify his technique in "Raging Bull" — the movie was even shot in gritty black and white — and in doing so had managed to integrate all these disparate elements into a complete, cohesive style. In "King of Comedy," the director's camera is even more static; it represents, he explains, an effort to simplify things further.

In a sense, Scorsese has tried to do the same thing with his life. At the end of 1979, he left Los Angeles and moved back to New York, and now lives quietly in Lower Manhattan. The apartment has the same empty, almost ascetic look of Jerry Langford's apartment in "The King of Comedy," and it is filled with the sort of provisional furniture — metal bookcases and cheap metal and rattan chairs — someone acquires in the wake of a divorce.

At the moment, he is making plans to shoot his next picture based on Nikos Kazantzakis' "The Last Temptation of Christ."

"It's calmed down a lot," he says. "It may be kind of boring and lonely at times, but it's better for the work and it's better for you as a person. At 40, you do start to think about things differently. I must say, I can understand why people naturally stop making pictures — because to make films in such an impassioned way, you really have to believe in it, you're really going to want to tell that story, and after a while, you may find out that life itself is more important than the filmmaking process. Maybe part of the answer for what the hell we're doing here has to be in the process of living itself, rather than in the work." He pauses, and then laughs. "Of course, you're talking to a person who's leaving this Sunday to look for new locations for the next picture."

PEOPLE

Peter Martins Plans To Give Up Dancing

Peter Martins, 36-year-old principal dancer of the New York City Ballet, said that he would give up performing within a year. Martins said the demands of choreographing new ballets and of helping to run the company — he has been tapped as eventual successor to the artistic director, George Balanchine — were too great to allow him to continue dancing. His other duties include teaching at the company's school, choreographing, restaging works, administering the 111-dancer company and counseling the younger dancers.

The wreckage of a World War II fighter plane pulled from the Gulf of Mexico was tentatively identified as a U.S. Air Force P-38, not the French reconnaissance version in which the aviator and author Antoine de Saint-Exupéry ("Night Flight," "Wind, Sand and Stars") disappeared. The wreckage found Tuesday by a fisherman northwest of Marseille carried neither American nor French insignia but had identification plates. Saint-Exupéry, disappeared July 31, 1944, at age 44, after taking off from Corsica for a photographic mission over the Alpine region near Grenoble. The French aviation magazine L'Espresso recently speculated that he was shot down by a German fighter, and crashed in the Mediterranean about 90 miles west of where the fisherman hauled up the central fuselage of the twin-tail P-38.

Marina Varola, a stockbroker with E.F. Hutton in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., who posed for Playboy magazine, has resigned. Her attorney said the 29-year-old mother of two children made the decision to resign instead of being fired.

Flacido Domingo has replaced Brodie Shields as the American Lung Association's pin-up person. The new Domingo poster will be unveiled Feb. 14 when the association holds its first annual media awards dinner. The Brodie Shields poster, which showed her with cigarettes coming out of her ears, was hugely successful. Domingo — an avid nonsmoker who will ask smokers near him in a restaurant to stop smoking — is on a poster with the slogan, "Smoking Spoils Your Performance."

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